

Chapter 1

Epistemic perspectives: Evidentiality, egophoricity, and engagement

Henrik Bergqvist

Stockholm University

Seppo Kittilä

University of Helsinki

1 Introduction

In the last decade, there has been a surge in output on various forms of epistemic marking in language, including (epistemic) modality, evidentiality, mirativity, egophoricity, and engagement.¹ Some of these terms are better known than others.² To begin with, epistemic modality has a long research tradition stemming

¹Edited volumes that deserve mention are: Aikhenvald & Dixon (2003; 2014) on evidentiality, modality, and expressions of knowing in grammar more broadly; Gawne & Hill (2017) on evidentiality in Tibetan languages and Floyd et al. (2018) on egophoricity. The list of journal articles on epistemic marking in grammar is (very) long, but we may note Evans et al. (2017a, 2017b) on engagement, Bergqvist & Knuchel (2017) on egophoricity, and San Roque et al. (2017) on evidentials and interrogativity.

²By using terms like “evidentiality” and “egophoricity”, we refer to meaning domains that signal how knowledge about events can be qualified in different ways. Usually, such domain labels come with a definition that is found in the seminal literature dealing with a given domain (e.g. Palmer 2001, for modality), but this is not always the case. Definitional criteria for comparable systems and forms are often contested and in a relatively young field such as the present one, debates concerning what counts as defining (semantic) features of a certain domain, are especially fierce. In this volume, a term like “evidentiality” is regarded as constituting a linguistic category in some languages, but consequently also refers to an epistemic domain that expresses different “modes of access” (Plungian 2010) with respect to how knowledge about events may be acquired.



from philosophy and qualifies an utterance in terms of possibility and probability, ranging from speculation to high certainty. The first monograph-length treatment of epistemic modality from a cross-linguistic perspective is Palmer (1986; 2001). At about the same time, research on the related category, evidentiality, also began to gain momentum. Evidentiality signals the source of information that a speaker has for an utterance. It is often sub-divided into direct and indirect evidentials where direct evidentials target the (direct) perception of the speaker, signaling sensory access (visual, auditory) to a discourse object. Indirect evidentials express other types of cognitive access, such as inference, assumption, and hearsay, and may be differentiated by how directly accessible a given type of evidence is. For example, inference and assumption are both based on the speaker's observation of a state-of-affairs that is not directly related to the event his/her claim is based on (e.g., we may infer that someone has left if that person's coat is gone). Inference is usually based on direct sensory perception, while assumption is often based on our general knowledge of the world, thus differing in type of indirect access (see e.g. Willett 1988). Aikhenvald (2004) is the first typological treatment of evidentiality, but it is Chafe & Nichols' (1986) seminal volume that is commonly regarded as the first work to investigate evidentiality from a cross-linguistic perspective.

Mirativity is regarded as separate from evidentiality by some (e.g. DeLancey 1997), but the ultimate definition of this category (and even its existence) is still under debate.³

Miratives signal new/non-assimilated knowledge and has often been said to convey the surprise of the speaker (DeLancey 1997; cf. Aikhenvald 2014). Surprise as a defining semantic component of mirativity has increasingly been rejected, however, whereas the signaling of new/non-assimilated information appears to be more widely accepted (but see Hill 2012 for arguments against the category of mirativity). In some languages (e.g. Turkish and Finnish), mirativity is found in specific uses of inferential evidential morphemes, while in other languages (such as Hare), there is a morpheme whose primary, or even only, function, is to signal mirativity (DeLancey 1997).

Egophoricity signals the epistemic authority of a speaker or addressee (speech-act participant) subject to his/her involvement in a talked-about event (Bergqvist 2018a; Bergqvist & Kittilä 2017; cf. Hargreaves 2005). This dialogical property of the egophoric marker has produced a pattern where egophoric markers occur in statements with first person subjects and in questions with second person

³See e.g. the debate in *Linguistic Typology*, involving, among others, Hill (2012), DeLancey (2012), and Hengeveld & Olbertz (2012).

subjects: *I am leaving*. [EGO] vs. *Are you leaving?* [EGO]. This functional overlap with person marking has led some to regard egophoric marking as a form of person marking/agreement, but it is clear from diachronic, distributional, and semantic criteria that egophoric marking is distinct from person marking (see Bergqvist & Kittilä 2017, for a discussion). Egophoricity, as a term to designate this kind of epistemic marking, was proposed by Tournadre (1996: 201), but the forms he discussed using the term had already been described by Austin Hale (1980) for Kathmandu Newar, then called “conjunct” (contrasted to “disjunct”). Subsequent research on the phenomenon called into question the usefulness of the label “conjunct/disjunct” and various proposals were put forth to replace it (e.g. “assertors involvement”, Creissels 2008; “congruent/non-congruent”, Dickinson 2000). Floyd et al. (2018) opts for the term “egophoricity” in providing a comprehensive overview of the phenomenon.

“Engagement”, finally, is a term that has had some currency in French linguistics (e.g. Desclés 2009; Guentchéva 2011) and in discourse studies (Hyland 2005), but in the work of Evans et al. (2017a, 2017b) it is used as a label for a kind of epistemic marking separate from the categories outlined above. Engagement targets the epistemic perspectives of the speech-act participants, signaling differences in the distribution of knowledge and/or attention between the speaker and the addressee. As such, it specifies whether information is shared, or exclusive to one of the speech-act participants. This contrast is exemplified with data from Southern Nambikwara (Kroeker 2001: 63–64 [our adjusted glossing and translation]):

- (1) Nambikwara
 - a. *wa3ko3n-a1-Ø-wa2*.
work-1-PRS-EXCL-IMPF
‘I am working.’
 - b. *wa3ko3n-a1-ti2.tu3-wa2*
work-1-SHRD-IMPF
‘(You and I see that) I am working’

In (1), the semantic contrast between exclusive and shared knowledge is signaled by a zero morpheme and the *-ti2.tu3*-suffix, respectively.⁴

While the translation suggests a visual mode of access to go along with such knowledge asymmetry, this is not encoded in said forms, but signaled by means of separate evidential morphology (see Kroeker 2001, for details). Engagement markers are generally underspecified with respect to how knowledge about an

⁴Kroeker’s label for what we term engagement, is “verification”.

event is gained, but Evans et al. (2017b) note that engagement markers often combine with evidentials and modals to signal (a)symmetries in terms of accessibility to and belief of some event. An issue that relates to the topic of the present volume in terms of categorical overlap, is whether the assumed distribution of knowledge between the speech-act participants concerns their actual knowledge/non-knowledge, or their rights/non-rights to knowledge (see Grzech 2020 [this volume]). It is possible that this contrast in terms of knowledge access and rights to knowledge is subject to variation across engagement systems. While engagement has yet to be widely accepted as a grammatical category in some languages, arguments for making such a claim are put forth in §3.3, below.

The organization of this introductory chapter is as follows: In §2, we will discuss the functional and semantic overlaps between the discussed categories on a general level. In §3, we will focus on the relation between the discussed categories as resources for expressing epistemic authority, and in §4, we will summarize the main points of the paper and suggest some ideas for future research.

2 Functional and semantic overlap between categories

It is a widely known fact that the abovementioned categories overlap in form, meaning, and function (see Cornillie 2009; de de Haan 1999; *inter alia*). This has been especially noted with respect to modality and evidentiality, where an English modal verb like *must* may be treated as a modal, or an evidential depending on the context of use. Such ambiguity has led some researchers to analyze evidentiality as a subtype of modality (e.g. Palmer 1986; Palmer 2001), whereas others have argued for a strict separation between the two categories (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004).

A comparable overlap has also been observed for evidentiality, mirativity, and egophoricity. With respect to evidentiality and mirativity, an inferential (evidential) form may also serve as a mirative depending on the context of use, as in Turkish (Slobin & Aksu 1982). Evidentiality and egophoricity overlap to the extent that egophoric markers may be part of evidential paradigms and thus contrast with evidential forms. Semantically, some have argued that egophoric marking cannot be regarded as a kind of evidential marking due to the fact that such markers do not signal a source of information as such (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004). Others have argued the opposite and regard egophoric markers as the strongest kind of access that speakers employ to justify a statement (Plungian 2010; San Roque & Loughnane 2012; cf. Boye 2012, evidentiality as “justification”). Egophoric markers have sometimes been analyzed as a kind of mirative marker for Tibetan and

Barbacoan languages (DeLancey 1997; Dickinson 2000; but see Curnow 2002, for a critique). Kittilä (forthcoming), shows that egophoric markers have features in common with general knowledge/factual evidentials and that claims of factuality may formally resemble markers of both visual evidence and volitional participation in an event.

Several papers in this volume discuss categorical overlaps of the kind sketched above. We will mention a few of them here. Liljegren notes for the Indo-Aryan language Palula that indirect evidentiality is produced by the contextualized token-use of perfect forms in addition to employing sentence final particles denoting hearsay and inference. The use of aspectual forms and particles to serve evidential functions are a commonly noted phenomenon, which has also been attested for Turkic (Slobin & Aksu 1982), Caucasian (Tatevosov 2001), and Persian languages (Lazard 1996).

Grzech accounts for epistemic markers in a variety of Quechua that previously have been described as evidentials, but which Grzech analyzes as signaling epistemic authority. Given the defining role of epistemic authority in egophoric marking, this constitutes a clear case of conceptual overlap between the two categories where a set of evidential markers (i.e. that are cognate to evidentials in related languages) have developed egophoric semantics. While assigning epistemic authority is implied by the use of direct and indirect evidentials (see §3.1, below), it has become encoded in Tena Kichwa, an Ecuadorian variety of Quechua. Conversely, languages with egophoric marking (see e.g. Tournadre 2008) may imply the cognitive access that a speaker claims for making an assertion, while the speaker's epistemic authority is encoded in the form (see §3.2, below).

For Kalapalo, Basso accounts for an enormously rich variety of epistemic markers with different grammatical status that includes modal and evidential notions, but which also feature participation and the positioning of knowledge between the speech-act participants. In a language like Kalapalo, it may not be fruitful to base categorical distinctions on formal criteria, given their distribution in different parts of the grammar. Rather than a small number of forms serving many functions, Kalapalo has many forms serving overlapping functions, thus constituting an entirely different kind of categorical overlap than the one that e.g. Liljegren reports for Palula.

3 The relation between evidentiality, egophoricity, and engagement

How may we account for the overlaps discussed above? The conceptual overlap between categories is evident from a functionalist perspective, but how this corresponds to their semanto-pragmatic properties and distinct development requires further discussion. With respect to the development of markers belonging to the categories that are the topic of the present volume, it is clear that the presence of pragmatically contingent components of meaning (e.g. inference as a token-feature of perfects) makes possible an eventual encoding of this implied feature to become part of the semantics of a form. This conventionalization of implicature (Levinson 2000) is a driving force in grammaticalization processes more generally and we may observe this for epistemic marking, as well (see Bergqvist 2018a). The aim of this section is to account for how implied meaning in the use of certain markers suggests the relation between the investigated categories and the reason for the frequently attested overlaps between categories.

3.1 Cognitive access vs. (dis)claiming epistemic authority: Evidentiality

The notion of evidentiality in language has been equated with providing justification for how information was acquired, i.e. the source of information that a speaker has for making an assertion about an event. Willett (1988) is still a good starting point for an illustration of the basic semantic features and divisions relevant to evidentiality in a cross-linguistic sense.

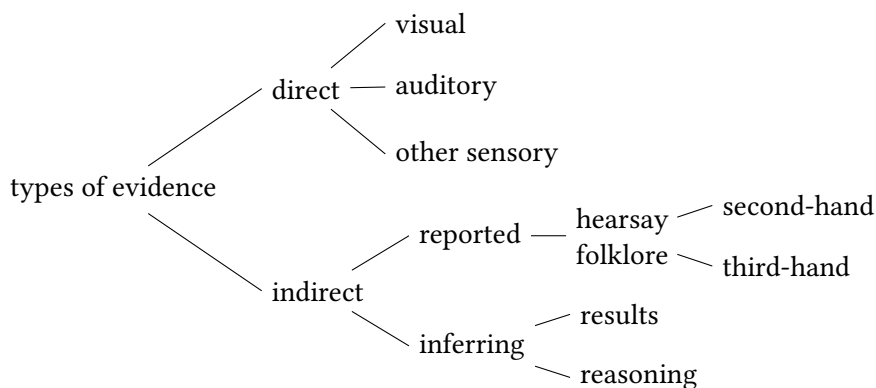


Figure 1.1: Evidential categories (after Willett 1988)

There is an implicit expectation for the speaker to provide the highest form of evidence for an assertion, which produces a hierarchical relation in terms of strength of evidence. Direct evidentials conveying “visual” access (i.e. ‘I know this from having seen it’) usually constitutes a stronger form of evidence than other sensory access (i.e. ‘I know this from having heard/felt/smelt it’). It is, however, important to note that states-of-affairs display variation in this regard. For example, olfactory evidence is more direct and reliable for a claim like ‘There must be a gas leak here somewhere’, and tactile evidence outranks visual evidence for claims such as ‘The water is hot’. In general, though, visual evidence ranks highest, a suggestion that is supported by the use of visual evidential forms to express participatory/factual evidence in some languages (see §3.2, below). For indirect evidentials, it is possible to argue that making an inference based on e.g. visual evidence (i.e. ‘I know this because I know/see what caused it’) is a stronger form of assertion than one based on report (i.e. ‘I know this because someone told me about it’). As stated above, inference and assumption are in principle very similar types of evidence, and both of them are classified as personal and indirect evidence by Plungian (2010: 37). However, these two evidence types differ from each other as regards their directness and reliability; inference is based on a more reliable (usually directly observable) evidence, while assumption is based on our general knowledge of the world (see the definitions offered by Plungian 2010: 37). We can also see that the hierarchical relation between direct and indirect evidence in terms of strength may not always hold, since e.g. “folklore”, as a kind of reported evidential (i.e. ‘I know this from (our) oral tradition’), may be deemed a very reliable source despite the fact that no member of the speech community has direct access to the events portrayed.

Possibly the most thoroughly investigated aspect of evidentiality is reported speech,⁵ which also corresponds to the “simplest” kind of evidential system where reported speech is the only evidential marker. Estonian exemplifies such a system with only a hearsay marker (see Aikhenvald 2004 for details). But despite this emphasis on reported speech in the literature on evidentiality, a narrow conception of evidentiality as a verbal category tends to emphasize the role of direct perception (i.e. visual, auditory) in grammaticalized evidentiality systems. In de Haan’s (2013) survey of evidential systems, however, systems that feature both direct and indirect evidentials are much less common than systems with only

⁵This is an impressionistic claim that would be difficult to substantiate statistically given the (by now) vast literature on evidentiality. Reportive evidentials were, however, discussed as early as Jakobson (1957) and has continued to occupy research on European languages as well as more cross-linguistically oriented research (see e.g. Boye 2012).

indirect evidentials. Evidential systems with only *direct* evidentials are not attested at all in the survey. From this cross-linguistic patterning, we may gather that the grammatical expression of evidentiality is primarily a means to signal indirect access to events, and that this indirect access sometimes is (explicitly) contrasted to direct access. In the default case (i.e. indirect access to an event), evidentiality is not so much a strategy to signal ownership of knowledge through some cognitive channel, but a disclaimer of epistemic authority as a consequence of restricted (i.e. indirect) sensory access (cf. Mushin 2001).

Signaling indirect access to an event in terms of inference, or assumption, does not necessarily mean that there is a restriction present on the sensory access that a speaker has to the talked-about event. In data resulting from the use of an interactive elicitation task developed by Nick Evans and colleagues (described in San Roque et al. 2012), it is clear that explicit, visual representations of people, things, and events will prompt the use of inferentials and assumptives even in cases where such representations appear unambiguous (e.g. Quartararo 2017). The simple fact that depicted events and people are outside of the speaker's domain of epistemic authority, may be sufficient to warrant a more cautious approach to asserting such events by using indirect evidentials. The speaker may mark an event as being inferred from his/her point of view, rather than claiming direct perceptual access to the contents of the picture, possibly because such contents pertain to previously unknown characters in a fictional universe. Curnow (2003) discusses the use of non-visual/indirect forms with first person subjects to produce unintentional/non-volitional readings of utterances (see Example 2b, below). Such interpretation effects are in line with the hypothesis that indirect evidentials function as disclaimers of epistemic authority. However, it is also possible to use evidentials to *claim* epistemic authority by means of direct evidentials. This may be a less prominent function of evidentials, but one that links evidentiality to egophoricity (see §3.2, below). Just like indirect evidentials may be used even in cases where the speaker has direct sensory access to a talked about event, so are direct evidentials sometimes used to signal other forms of access than their semantics may suggest (i.e. visual, auditory). One such form of access that may be signaled by the use of direct evidentials, is “(volitional) participation”. Participatory meaning in the context of evidentiality may result from the distribution of direct evidential forms with subject pronouns (i.e. first vs. third person), or they can constitute distinct forms that are part of paradigms alongside other direct forms that signal visual access to the referent (see Example 3, below). Examples of how the distribution of direct evidentials may produce participatory meaning according to subject person, is discussed by Curnow (2002: 188–190, citing Ramirez 1997: 133):

(2) Tucano

a. *bapá bope-ápi*

plate break-REC.PAST.NON3.VISUAL

‘I broke the plate (of my own will, e.g., because I was angry).’

b. *bapá bope-ási*

plate break-REC.PAST.NON3.NONVISUAL

‘I broke the plate accidentally (I didn’t see it on the table).’

Curnow discusses the examples from Tucano as an instance of interpretation effects resulting from the distribution of forms signaling a visual/non-visual contrast with first person subjects. Such effects are also reported for other languages and depending on what evidentials are present in each language, different effects may arise (see Curnow 2002; 2003 for details).

In Central Pomo, the evidential paradigm contains a form, *-la*, which denotes “personal agency” (Mithun 1999: 181):

(3) Central Pomo

da-ché-w=la

pulling-seize-PRF=PERSONAL.AGENCY

‘I caught it.’ (I know because I did it)

It should be noted that performative, or participatory, evidentials assume part of the function of person agreement, given the implied agency of a first person subject in such forms. Subject identity is not an encoded feature, however, and reference to the actions of third person subjects featuring performative/participatory forms may produce a factual reading that corresponds in epistemic status to participatory meaning when referring to events and actions involving the speaker. This means that factual events involving third persons may be marked in the same way as events involving one of the speech-act participants as a participant. Bergqvist & Kittilä (2017; cf. Bergqvist 2015) explores participation/involvement as part of evidential systems in order to place this notion against egophoric marking, in which volitional participation/involvement has been suggested as a defining notion (see directly below). One reason to make such a comparison relates to the ongoing debate on whether egophoric marking is a kind of evidential marker, or if egophoric marking constitutes a separate grammatical expression altogether. If “source of information” (Aikhenvald 2004) is the preferred definition, then participation will be difficult to accommodate within such a definition (but see San Roque & Loughnane 2012 for a discussion). If viewed from the perspective of epistemic marking in language, more generally, then cognitive access

to events must be situated against related means to signal access more broadly, including access from participation/involvement (see Bergqvist 2017; cf. Boye 2012).

3.2 Involvement and epistemic authority: Egophoricity

Egophoricity is a recently proposed term for a form of epistemic marking that prototypically occurs with first and second person subjects in declarative and interrogative clauses, respectively (see Floyd et al. 2018, for a cross-linguistic overview). Egophoricity is also known as “conjunct/disjunct”-marking in the literature (e.g. Bickel & Nichols 2007), but competing terms also exist (see §1, above). Example (4) portrays the two combinations of subject person and sentence type that trigger egophoric marking in Kathmandu Newar (Hale 1980). All other combinations of subject person and sentence-type produces non-egophoric marking (i.e. 1S+interrogative/2S+declarative/3S+any sentence type):

(4) Kathmandu Newar (Hale 1980: 95, [our adjusted glossing])

- a. *jī ana wanā*
1S.ABS there go.EGO
‘I went there.’
- b. *cha ana wanā lā*
2S.ABS there go.EGO INTERR
‘Did you go there?’

In addition to this distributional pattern, there are also restrictions on what verbs may take the egophoric marker. In Kathmandu Newar, only verbs that feature (volitional) agents are permitted. The contrast between verbs that denote volitional actions and ones that do not, is illustrated in (5) (Hargreaves 2005: 12–13):

(5) Kathmandu Newar

- a. *jī: jyā yān-ā*
1.ERG work do-PST.EGO
‘I did the work.’
- b. *jī mhiga then-a*
1.ABS yesterday arrive-PFV.ALLO
‘I arrived yesterday.’

- c. *jī: thul-a*
 1.ERG understand-PFV.ALLO
 ‘I understood (it).’

Bergqvist & Knuchel (2017) take a broad approach to analyzing egophoric marking by outlining the boundaries of speech-act participant involvement in such systems. Although the volitional actions of a speech-act participant purportedly are a defining semantic component of egophoric marking, it has become increasingly clear that this is not the only kind of involvement that may trigger the use of an egophoric marker. Involvement as a basis for epistemic authority may in some instances target the affectedness, or even the attitude of a speaker/addressee (Bergqvist & Knuchel 2017: 369). Given that such an encompassing formulation of involvement is applicable to some egophoric markers, Bergqvist & Knuchel propose that “epistemic authority” is actually the core semantic notion that may define egophoric marking against other forms of epistemic marking, such as evidentials and epistemic modals. Focusing on the notion of epistemic authority also bridges the gap to seemingly unrelated phenomena such as “ethical datives”, which share formal and functional features with egophoric marking, as described for a language like Standard Tibetan (see Bergqvist & Knuchel 2017, for details). The involvement of a speech-act participant produces a kind of epistemic inalienability that permits the speaker to assign epistemic authority to him/herself, or the addressee without necessarily specifying what this involvement consists of.

The notion of epistemic authority may be conceptualized as a driving force in verbal interaction more generally and serves to situate information with respect to the speech-act participants. As such, it goes well beyond the use of egophoric markers in languages where this is an attested form of epistemic marking. For English (arguably a language without egophoric marking), the notion of epistemic authority may be seen in the correspondence between sentence-type and communicative function, an issue that has concerned speech-act theory since its formulation (Searle 1969). Sometimes an assertion may function as a question in a communicative sense, and vice versa. In fact, the majority of polar questions in American English have the form of an assertion (Stivers 2010; Stivers & Rossano 2010). In order to explain this apparent discrepancy, Heritage (2012) argues that the notions, “epistemic status” and “epistemic stance” are key for understanding discrepancies between grammatical form and (social) action. Epistemic status, as an index of relative epistemic authority, is formulated with reference to the notion of A and B-events (Labov & Fanshel 1977), where A-events are known only to the speaker (speaker authority) and B-events are known only to the addressee

(addressee authority). Typical B-events include the addressee's opinions, beliefs, and bodily states, but may also include his/her professional expertise. Heritage offers the following definition of epistemic status:

(W)e can consider relative epistemic access to a domain as stratified between actors such that they occupy different positions on an epistemic gradient (more knowledgeable [K+] or less knowledgeable [K-]), which itself may vary in slope from shallow to deep [...]. We will refer to this relative positioning as epistemic status, in which persons recognize one another to be more or less knowledgeable concerning some domain of knowledge (...) (Heritage 2012: 32)

The speaker's epistemic stance can be congruent or incongruent with the speaker's epistemic status, as seen in the example, *you're married*, provided by Heritage, which may be understood as a request for confirmation despite its assertive formulation, given that it pertains to the addressee's marital status. A statement such as, *you're sad*, using an assertive form, may be deemed incongruent to the speaker's epistemic status, given that it must be regarded as K-, given the addressee's obvious epistemic authority over his/her own emotional states.

Speakers of any language continuously keep track of what others know and how their own knowledge can be related to the knowledge of others, and Heritage offers us a detailed and empirically grounded picture of how this works in everyday conversation. Such assumptions most prominently involve the addressee and explicit formulations of how the addressee's perspective is attended to have received some attention in the field of discourse studies, notably in work by Ken Hyland (e.g. 1999; 2001; 2005). More recently, cross-linguistic research has led to the formulation of "engagement" as a bona fide epistemic category in some languages (see Evans et al. 2017a) and the relation between engagement and epistemic authority deserves to be explored in the definition of both notions.

3.3 Shared vs. non-shared access/rights to knowledge: Engagement

Engagement consists of a contrast between the speaker's assertion about the addressee's knowledge of/attention to an event (*e*) as either *shared* or *non-shared* with the speaker. *I know e and I assume that you know e too*, is contrasted with, *I know e and I assume that you do not* (Evans et al. 2017a; cf. "complex perspective", Evans 2005; cf. "complex epistemic perspective", Bergqvist 2015; 2016; 2017). This semantic contrast may in principle concern any aspect of epistemicity, and is as such relevant for any form of epistemic marking (see below). Engagement targets "knowing" from a socio-centric perspective, where the speaker's assertion

contains an embedded assertion assumed to belong to the addressee. Such assumptions may be implied in the token-use of other forms of epistemic marking, but in a language with engagement as a category, this implicature has become encoded in forms to signal asymmetries in the knowledge/attention states of the speech-act participants.

In Kogi (Arwako-Chibchan; Bergqvist 2016; cf. Ortíz Ricaurte 1994), speakers can choose one of four auxiliary prefixes that encode engagement.⁶ These prefixes may be divided into two sets that take the speaker and the addressee as their respective starting points. A focus on the perspective of the speaker is found with *na-/ni-*, where *na-* means that ‘the speaker knows *e* and expects the addressee to be unaware of *e*’ (6a), and *ni-* means that ‘the speaker knows *e* and expects the addressee to know *e* too’ (6b) (Bergqvist 2016: 2):

- (6) Kogi
- a. *kwisa-té na-nuk-kú*
 dance-IMPF SPKR.ASYM-be.LOC-1s
 ‘I am/was dancing.’ (informing)
 - b. *kwisa-té ni-nuk-kú*
 dance-IMPF SPKR.SYM-be.LOC-1s
 ‘I am/was dancing.’ (confirming)

Na-/ni- are in turn contrasted to *sha-/shi-*, which encode a corresponding distinction in terms of non-shared/shared knowledge from the addressee’s perspective. *sha-* means that ‘the speaker expects the addressee to know *e* while the speaker is unaware of *e*’ (7a), and *shi-* means that ‘the speaker expects the addressee to know *e*, and the speaker knows *e* too’ (7b) (Bergqvist 2016: 3):

- (7) Kogi
- a. *nas hanchibé sha-kwisa=tuk-(k)u*
 1SG.IND good ADR.ASYM-dance=be.LOC-1SG
 ‘I am dancing well(?)’ (in your opinion)
 - b. *kwisa-té shi-ba-lox*
 dance-IMPF ADR.SYM-2SG-be.LOC
 ‘You are/were dancing(?)’ (confirming)

⁶Bergqvist (2015; 2016; 2017) discusses the Kogi system using the term “complex epistemic perspective” without arguing for a more general applicability of this term to similar systems and forms in the literature. Such applicability is, however, considered in Evans et al. (2017a, 2017b) under the term engagement.

Shi-/sha- are used to signal the speaker's acknowledgement of the addressee as primary knower, but at the same time encodes the speaker's assertion (without reduced certainty) of a talked about event.

Engagement in Kogi may appear to be an exotic system in a little-known language, but this notion echoes with well-known phenomena like modal particles in Germanic languages (modal particle). Descriptive accounts of cognates of the German *ja* ('as you know'/'of course', Abraham 1991), in Danish (*jo*, Davidsen-Nielsen 1996), Norwegian (*jo*, Andvik 1992) and Swedish (*ju*, Lindström 2008) agree that reflexes of this form signals "available knowledge through shared experience" (Lindström 2008: 74, for Swedish).⁷ But although modal particles are relatively frequent in e.g. spoken Swedish (see Bergqvist 2017), they are generally not viewed as part of core grammar, given their non-obligatoriness, weakly paradigmatic organization, and function as markers of discourse. Modal particles have an established (Eurocentric) descriptive tradition, but have recently been compared to analogous particles in non-European languages such as Chinese and Japanese (e.g. Abraham & Leiss 2012). A continued exploration of modal particles by means of cross-linguistic comparison, will surely contribute to a more developed understanding of engagement as a linguistic category.

From the typological overview presented in Evans et al. (2017b), it is clear that engagement can combine with modals and evidentials and that the shared/non-shared contrast may fuse with such forms of epistemic marking. Hintz & Hintz (2017) account for evidentials in Sihuas Quechua and argue that this language has developed two distinct sets of evidential markers, which feature an *-i/-a* alteration encoding individual/mutual knowledge, respectively. Papuan languages like Foe (Rule 1977) and Angal (Sillitoe 2010) also display engagement semantics fused with evidential forms that produce readings like 'as I could see, but you could not'. Schultze-Berndt (2017) reports that markers of epistemic authority in Jaminjung (Mirndi, Australia) are contrasted according to whether epistemic authority is considered to be shared, or exclusive to one of the speech-act participants.

Ika, a language closely related to Kogi (above), features a version of egophoric marking that mirrors some of the semantic contrasts found in Kogi, but by way

⁷For Danish, Davidsen-Nielsen argues that "*jo* signals that the hearer is assumed to be aware of and accept the states of affairs described [...]" (Davidsen-Nielsen 1996: 285). He notes that the notion of something being "familiar to the receiver" is subject to some variation, but that the semantic component of including the hearer's perspective remains part of utterances featuring *jo* in Danish (Davidsen-Nielsen 1996: 293). For Norwegian, Berthelin et al. (2013) note that the meaning of *jo* encodes that "the hearer and speaker both have access to all the evidence required for entertaining *p* as true".

of a distinct system that signals the involvement of the speech participants in relation to their respective epistemic authorities (Bergqvist 2012; 2018b; 2018a). The epistemic marking systems in Kogi and Ika shows how a functional pressure to assign epistemic authority to one, or both of the speech-act participants may produce distinct systems in closely related languages. Drawing on this comparison, Bergqvist (2018a) argues that any subjective evaluation/positioning may develop a sensitivity to whether this is shared with the addressee, or not, and that the possibility of such a development stems from the very nature of indexical reference.

An eventual typology of engagement must answer questions regarding its relevant dimensions of meaning, i.e. whether encoded (a)symmetries of knowing concern the assimilated knowledge of the addressee, or the speech-act participant's respective rights to know in terms of epistemic authority. With respect to the diachronic development of engagement, this must be accounted for in the context of engagement being part of related functional categories, but also as a distinct grammatical expression.

4 Concluding thoughts and a view to the future

From the overview and discussion provided in this introductory chapter, it should be clear that evidentiality, egophoricity, and engagement are closely related notions that overlap in both form and function. The notion of epistemic authority is argued to be central to a functional analysis of said categories, either as an underlying (largely implicit) motivation for the use of evidentials, or as a defining semantic component of egophoric marking. It may also be assigned to one, or both, of the speech-act participants by forms of engagement. The general role of epistemic authority as an integral part of the “epistemic engine” that drives verbal communication (Heritage 2012) lends further support to idea that epistemic authority is a key concern for speakers engaged in conversation.

In order to explore epistemicity in language with this focus, interactive language data is required. The dialogic function of language was discussed as a defining feature of language already by Jespersen (1922), but throughout the 20th Century this function all but disappeared from linguistic analysis (but see Givón 2001; Halliday 1973). Recently, dialogicity has come back on the agenda in research by Du Bois (2007; 2014) and Evans (2012), among others. A return to the dialogical features of language use and its consequences for grammar appears crucial to account for the ongoing exploration of epistemic marking strategies in languages everywhere.

Abbreviations

1	first person	LOC	locative
1s	first person subject	NON3	non-third person
2s	second person subject	NONVISUAL	non-visual access
ABS	absolutive	PAST	past tense
ADR	addressee	PERSONAL.AGENCY	personal agency
ALLO	allophoric	PRF	perfect
ASYM	asymmetric	PRS	present
EGO	egophoric	PFV	perfective
ERG	ergative	REC	recent
EXCL	exclusive	SHRD	shared
IMPF	imperfective	SPKR	speaker
IND	indicative	SYM	symmetric
INTERR	interrogative	VISUAL	visual access

References

- Abraham, Werner. 1991. Introduction. In Werner Abraham (ed.), *Discourse particles: Descriptive and theoretical investigations on the logical, syntactic, and pragmatic properties of discourse particles in German*, 141–162. London: Routledge.
- Abraham, Werner & Elisabeth Leiss. 2012. *Modality and theory of mind elements across languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2014. The grammar of knowledge: A cross-linguistic view of evidentials and the expression of information source. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *The grammar of knowledge: A cross-linguistic typology*. 1–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & R. M. W. Dixon. 2003. *Studies in evidentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & R. M. W. Dixon. 2014. *The grammar of knowledge: A cross-linguistic typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Andvik, Erik E. 1992. *A pragmatic analysis of Norwegian modal particles*. Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics & The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2012. Epistemic marking in Ika (Arwako). *Studies in Language* 36(1). 154–181.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2015. Epistemic marking and multiple perspective: An introduction. *Language Typology and Universals (STUF)* 68(2). 123–141.

- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2016. Complex epistemic perspective in Kogi (Arwako). *International Journal of American Linguistics* 82(1). 1–34.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2017. The role of ‘perspective’ in epistemic marking. *Lingua* 186–187. 5–20.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2018a. Intersubjectification revisited: A cross-categorical perspective. In Zlatka Guentcheva (ed.), *Epistemic modalities and evidentiality in cross-linguistic perspective*, 319–345. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2018b. The role of sentence type in Ika (Arwako) egophoric marking. In Lila San Roque, Simeon Floyd & Elisabeth Norcliffe (eds.), *Egophoricity*, 347–375. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bergqvist, Henrik & Seppo Kittilä. 2017. Person and knowledge: Introduction. *Open Linguistics* 3. 18–30.
- Bergqvist, Henrik & Dominique Knuchel. 2017. Complexity in egophoric marking: From agents to attitude holders. *Open Linguistics* 3. 359–377.
- Berthelin, Signe Rix, Kaja Borthen & Cecilie Slinning Knudsen. 2013. *Midtstillet jo – semantiske og pragmatiske aspekter*. Paper presented at MONS 15: Møte om norsk språk, 21st–23rd November, University of Oslo.
- Bickel, Balthasar & Johanna Nichols. 2007. Inflectional morphology. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, vol. III: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, 2nd edn., 169–240. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boye, Kasper. 2012. *Epistemic meaning: A crosslinguistic and functional-cognitive study*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Chafe, Wallace & Johanna Nichols. 1986. *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex Pub. Corp.
- Cornillie, Bert. 2009. Evidentiality and epistemic modality: On the close relationship of two different categories. *Functions of Language* 16(1). 32–44.
- Creissels, Denis. 2008. *Remarks on so-called “conjunct/disjunct” systems*. Berlin. <http://www.deniscreissels.fr/public/Creissels-conj.disj.pdf>.
- Curnow, Timothy J. 2002. Types of interaction between evidentials and first-person subjects. *Anthropological Linguistics* 44(2). 178–96.
- Curnow, Timothy J. 2003. Non-volitionality expressed through evidentials. *Studies in Language* 27(1). 39–59.
- Davidsen-Nielsen, Niels. 1996. Discourse particles in Danish. In Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, Michael Fortescue, Peter Harder, Lars Heltoft & Lisbeth Falster Jakobsen (eds.), *Content, expression and structure: Studies in Danish functional grammar*, 283–314. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- de Haan, Ferdinand. 1999. Evidentiality and epistemic modality: Setting boundaries. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 18. 83–101.

- de Haan, Ferdinand. 2013. Semantic distinctions of evidentiality. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/chapter/77> (3 March, 2016).
- DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1. 33–52.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2012. Still mirative after all these years. *Linguistic Typology* 16(3). 529–564.
- Desclès, J.-P. 2009. Prise en charge, engagement et désengagement. *Langue Française* 162. 29–54.
- Dickinson, Connie. 2000. Mirativity in Tsafiki. *Studies in Language* 24(2). 379–422.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. The stance triangle. In Robert Engelbretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse*, 139–182. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Du Bois, John W. 2014. Towards a dialogic syntax. *Cognitive Linguistics* 25. 359–410.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2005. View with a view: Towards a typology of multiple perspective constructions. *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 31(1). 93–120.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2012. Some problems in the typology of quotation: A canonical approach. In Dunstan Brown, Marina Chumakina & Greville G. Corbett (eds.), *Canonical morphology and syntax*, 66–98. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Nicholas, Henrik Bergqvist & Lila San Roque. 2017a. The grammar of engagement I: Framework and initial exemplification. *Language and Cognition* 10(1). 1–31. DOI: 10.1017/langcog.2017.21.
- Evans, Nicholas, Henrik Bergqvist & Lila San Roque. 2017b. The grammar of engagement II: Typology and diachrony. *Language and Cognition* 10(1). 1–30. DOI: 10.1017/langcog.2017.22.
- Floyd, Simeon, Elisabeth Norcliffe & Lila San Roque (eds.). 2018. *Egophoricity*. Vol. 118. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gawne, Lauren & Nathan W. Hill. 2017. *Evidential systems of Tibetan languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: An introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Grzech, Karolina. 2020. Epistemic primacy, Common Ground management, and epistemic perspective. In Henrik Bergqvist & Seppo Kittilä (eds.), *Evidentiality, egophoricity, and engagement*, 23–60. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.3975797.

- Guentchéva, Z. 2011. L'opération de prise en charge et la notion de médiativité. In Patrick Dendale & Danielle Coltier (eds.), *La prise en charge énonciative: Etudes théoriques et empiriques (champs linguistiques)*, 117–142. Brussels: De Boeck-Duculot.
- Hale, Austin. 1980. Person markers: Finite conjunct and disjunct verb forms in Newari. In R. L. Trail (ed.), *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics*, vol. 7, 95–106. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1973. *Explorations in the functions of language*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hargreaves, David. 2005. Agency and intentional action in Kathmandu Newar. *Himalayan Linguistics* 5. 1–48.
- Hengeveld, Kees & Hella Olbertz. 2012. Didn't you know? Mirativity does exist! *Linguistic Typology* 16(2). 487–503.
- Heritage, John. 2012. Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 45(1). 1–29.
- Hill, Nathan W. 2012. Mirativity does not exist: *Hdug* in Lhasa Tibetan and other suspects. *Linguistic Typology* 16(3). 389–433.
- Hintz, Daniel J. & Diane M. Hintz. 2017. The evidential category of mutual knowledge in Quechua. *Lingua* 186–187. 88–109.
- Hyland, Ken. 1999. Disciplinary discourses: Writer stance in research articles. In C. Candlin & K. Hyland (eds.), *Writing: Texts, processes and practices*, 99–121. London: Longman.
- Hyland, Ken. 2001. Bringing in the reader: Addressee features in academic articles. *Written Communication* 18(4). 549–574.
- Hyland, Ken. 2005. Stance and engagement: A model of interaction in academic discourse. *Discourse Studies* 7(2). 173–192.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1957. Shifters and verbal categories. In Linda R. Waugh & Monique Monville-Burstion (eds.), *On language*, 386–392. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1922. *Language: Its nature, development and origin*. London: G. Allen & Unwin.
- Kittilä, Seppo. 2019. General knowledge as an evidential category. *Linguistics* 57(6). 1271–1304.
- Kroeker, Menno. 2001. A descriptive grammar of Nambikuara. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 67(1). 1–87.
- Labov, William & David Fanshel. 1977. *Therapeutic discourse: Psychotherapy as conversation*. New York: Academic Press.
- Lazard, Gilbert. 1996. Le médiatif en persan. In Z. Guentchéva (ed.), *L'énonciation médiatisée*, 21–30. Louvain: Peeters.

- Levinson, Stephen C. 2000. *Presumptive meaning: The theory of generalized conversational implicature*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Lindström, Jan. 2008. *Tur och ordning: Introduktion till svensk samtalsgrammatik*. Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1999. *The languages of native North America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mushin, Ilana. 2001. *Evidentiality and epistemological stance: Narrative retelling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ortíz Ricaurte, Carolina. 1994. Clases y tipos de predicados en la lengua Kogui. In Jon Landaburu (ed.), *Estructuras sintácticas de la predicación: Lenguas amerindias de Colombia*, 377–399. Bogotá: CCELA.
- Palmer, F. R. 1986. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and modality*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Plungian, Vladimir A. 2010. Types of verbal evidentiality marking: An overview. In Gabriele Diewald & Elena Smirnova (eds.), *Linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages*, 15–58. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Quartararo, Geraldine. 2017. *Evidencialidad indirecta en Aimara y en el Español de La Paz: Un estudio semántico-pragmático de textos orales*. Stockholm University. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Ramirez, Henri. 1997. *A fala tukano dos Ye'pâ-Masa: Gramática*. Vol. 1. Manaus: Inspeção Salesiana Missionária da Amazônia & Centro “Iauareté” de Documentação Etnográfica e Missionária.
- Rule, W. M. 1977. *A comparative study of the Foe, Huli and Pole languages of Papua New Guinea*. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- San Roque, Lila, Simeon Floyd & Elisabeth Norcliffe. 2017. Evidentiality and interrogativity. *Lingua* 186. 120–143.
- San Roque, Lila, Lauren Gawne, Darja Hoenigman, Julia C. Miller, Stef Spronck, Alan Rumsey, Alice Carroll & Nicholas Evans. 2012. Getting the story straight: Language fieldwork using a narrative problem-solving task. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 6. 135–174.
- San Roque, Lila & Robyn Loughnane. 2012. The new Guinea highlands evidentiality area. *Linguistic Typology* 16. 111–167.
- Schultze-Berndt, Eva. 2017. Shared vs. primary epistemic authority in Jaminjung/Ngaliwurru. *Open Linguistics* 3(1). 178–218.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sillitoe, Paul. 2010. Trust in development: Some implications of knowing in indigenous knowledge. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16. 12–30.

- Slobin, Dan & Ayhan Aksu. 1982. Tense, aspect, and modality in the use of the Turkish evidential. In P. Hopper (ed.), *Tense-aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics*, 185–200. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Stivers, Tanya. 2010. An overview of the question–response system in American English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(10). 2772–2781.
- Stivers, Tanya & Federico Rossano. 2010. Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 43(1). 3–31.
- Tatevosov, Sergei. 2001. From resultatives to evidentials: Multiple uses of the perfect in Nakh-Daghestanian languages. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33(3). 443–464.
- Tournadre, Nicholas. 2008. Arguments against the concept of “egophoric” / “alophoric” in Tibetan. In Brigitte Huber, Marianne Volkart & Paul Widmer (eds.), *Chomolongma, Demawend und Kasbek: Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, 281–308. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan & Buddhist Studies.
- Tournadre, Nicolas. 1996. Comparaison des systèmes médiatifs de quatre dialectes tibétains (Tibétain central, Ladakhi, Dzongkha et Amdo). In Zlatka Guentchéva (ed.), *L'énonciation médiatisée*, 195–213. Paris: Peeters.
- Willett, Thomas. 1988. A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality. *Studies in Language* 12(1). 51–97.

